

SLAVERY A FALLING TOWER.

II.

A

LECTURE

ON

SLAVERY

THE CAUSE OF THE

Civil War in the United States.

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**JOHN R. WALSH, CORNER OF MADISON STREET, AND
CUSTOMHOUSE PLACE.**

SLAVERY A FALLING TOWER.*



I OFFER no apology for appearing before you at this time. It is sufficient that I have been requested to do so by those who, as friends, have a right to judge our proprieties, if they cannot define our duties. I have thought it my duty to say something to you—whom I shall sometimes meet, while I worship in the same chapel—on the subject of the civil war now raging in my native land. That I may do so more satisfactorily to myself, more calmly and dispassionately, I have written in the quiet of my home, what I propose to say to you on this occasion.

It is with some hesitancy that I have consented to comply with the request. I am aware that I tread on delicate ground. There is a sensitive state of feeling between some portion of the people of my country and some portion of the people of your country, in reference to the present state of the American difficulty. This sensitiveness grows out of our near relationship. It is like that which sometimes exists between real friends, whose very friendship causes them to be jealous, and to suspect a lurking hostility in each other, while it exists in neither. Where there are actual hostile sentiments they are shown in overt acts. Where there is actual indifference there is no quarrelling. We, as Americans, know not and care not what some nations think of us, because we are not in any bonds of intimacy or sympathy with them. Furthermore, I have some hesitancy in entering upon my task, from not knowing what is right to say in the right place. If I express the intense feeling, which an American may be supposed to entertain, it may be regarded as an expression of a partisan, therefore not worthy of entire approbation. In enforcing my views, if I deal with facts too common-place, I may depreciate the intelligence of a very intelligent people. It requires a great deal of boldness to say to Englishmen, who stand at the head of all knowledge and science, you do not understand this

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question! Some of the great men and philanthropists of your nation have claimed that they know better what is for our good than we know ourselves. They claim that a distant view is a disinterested one; and therefore they are better able to judge the merits of our cause. If they were, at the same time, as familiar with those little circumstances which make the great whole, I should not doubt the truth of this inference. They would certainly be dispassionate, and we should hope would be impartial, except as justice and truth might lead them to incline to the one side or the other.

There is an interesting memento of the past in this old city of Bristol—the Leaning Tower of Temple Church. It is possible for people to view that object in very different lights, from different stand-points, and give very conflicting accounts of it, and yet each one of them be true and honest. Seen from the elevation of Brandon Hill, it presents one form, a square, substantial, perpendicular, honest tower, without a particle of inclination; representing English firmness, solidity, and reliability. Seen at an angle from an elevation on St. Michael's Hill, it might be suspected of not being perfectly upright, and possibly might be mistaken in some of the foggy mornings, not unusual in Bristol, for an octagon, or one of very different style from that shown from the previous point of observation. From the far-off heights, beyond Bedminster, still another appearance would be presented; and from the distance and position of Downend, the intervening objects might cut off the view altogether. Thus, from each of these points very different impressions would be derived from the appearance of that tower; and from one point, some might be led, from anything they could perceive from their own knowledge and sight, to doubt its existence altogether. Room is thus opened honestly for a discrepancy of opinion, and for honest doubt, and room for faith,—and that is a blessed privilege if we rightly improve it.

Every one of the different viewers might take notes of their observations, write learned essays upon the subject, and make contradictory statements; yet every statement might be true, and every man an honest man. A controversy might be carried on in regard to the tower, very earnest, very confident, and very foolish also; especially if they fell to abusing each other for not seeing every one every thing alike. Moral elements or principles might be pressed into the service of one side or the other. Another party who had seen it from all these points, and at the same time had stood under its shadow, measured it with his eye and with his rule, and had plumbed it with his line and plummet, he might settle their difficulties; and yet something might remain even for him to learn.

May I suggest that everything is not absolutely a falsehood that does not seem to be the whole truth? though a truth half told, may sometimes make a lie of what is told. It is the duty of every man to be simple-hearted, and learn as much of truth as possible, from every phase in which a subject may be viewed.

I am thankful to be able to learn much of my own country, from the distant point of England, where, in the providence of God, I now stand. If, as Americans, we are wise to improve the opportunity, we shall be much profited from what we may learn of your opinions of our country. I hope to appreciate the value of a distant, as well a near point of observation; I confess "distance does lend enchantment to the view." It may be well if we are not all so much enchanted as to mistake wrong for right, and put doctrines for light. Americans see England from the distant view. Now here, we can learn more of your country, under the shadow of your upright tower, with all the finer and more delicate features that make the whole and true England, than it was possible for us to learn while the waves of the Atlantic rolled between us.

But our attention is directed to an object in the far distance—prominent before all the world;—we may call it the Leaning Tower of Slavery in the United States. That object is regarded in as many different lights as there are stand-points from which it may be viewed. Some see in it the cause of the present war; some see no connection whatever of the two facts. Some see in it an upright and firm tower—one worthy and fit to stand for all time. Another sees in it a waning institution, and one against which the storms of a disapproving Deity are directed, and that the condemnation of men and their acts, should follow towards it, the leadings of Providence. Some see it standing upon the firm foundations of nature, unshaken, except as nature itself shows agitation; others, wavering, and leaning, watching for its speedy downfall. Others, in their haste to destroy whatever is evil, wondering that its ruin should tarry, discouraged at the slow progress of events by which the world is made, can see no end to it unless by an explosion of a magazine under its deep-laid foundations. We should calmly survey the whole subject, paying proper heed to all honest expressions, weighing the value of all by the test of human nature, reason, and common-sense. Then, maybe, we can come to some rational conclusions whether there be a sufficient inclination in that tower, or its foundations be so unstable as to warrant a belief that it will come down; or whether the good framework of human government, by its side, must fall instead; or whether, in its fall, it will spread ruin and destruction all around, as the storm-conquered oak of the forest breaks down every young and thriving tree beneath it when at last it falls to the earth.

One glance of the eye to the United States presents but a fearful aspect. That nation is engaged in a terrific and bloody civil war. No wonder the civilized world stands aghast at the spectacle. If you love us well and wish us well, it is not strange you should say you wish us speedily out of our troubles. Two years ago there was on earth no nation more flourishing, more peaceable, nor one with a fairer prospect of continued peace. The people of the United States were not a military people. Those of the North were of a certain order of peace men; they believed war sinful, and only to be justified as an exception, on the simple ground of self-defence, to be waged only to preserve the life of the nation. They repudiated standing armies. Those of the South were of a different class. Our government had allowed them to monopolize the military profession, because it was in accordance with their tastes; while the people of the North engaged in trade, in education, in mechanical improvements, in making railroads, and making money. Behold now how changed! A million of men in arms!—the smaller part to destroy what they have been proud to boast as the best government in the world; the other part to preserve that government! The peace men, in the short space of a year, have learned the art of war. From no standing army, they have come to the largest standing army in the world. One out of every twenty-five of the white population of that whole nation is to-day a trained soldier. In a population of eighteen millions in the North, seven hundred thousand men have sprung, with one accord, every man a volunteer, to preserve his government from threatened ruin. What a wonder is all this to Europe! Oh! there are great and strange lessons yet to be learned from that people, that land, and from the transactions there to-day being acted out. These transactions are a wonder to the world. Well may your great *Times* newspaper, having seen all its prophecies of evil and of good toward that land turned into folly, now say,—“*The whole story is a marvel and a mystery.*”

There are a few men who have studied the signs of the times, and sought to know what was in the heart of man, who have seen this evil from afar; have seen it like the little black cloud, floating upon the horizon. Years ago, they uttered their warnings, but were unheeded. They not being bearers of good news, were not welcome messengers. They were like men of all ages whose opinions are a-head of the times—men hated for their opinions' sake. I mean the Anti-Slavery men, called Abolitionists.

This subject will never be made plain, nor the mystery solved to Englishmen nor to Americans, without familiarity with many great facts which preceded this rebellion. In so saying, I mean not to impugn nor question English intelligence nor integrity—neither Eng-

lish head nor English heart. Verily, I think Americans, as well, lack a thorough knowledge of the character of the contest in which they are engaged, and what is the meaning of that part which they are perforce made to play in the world. Slow have they been to learn, and God has at length, in a special manner, become their teacher. Their shrinking from the real issue,—their slowness to comprehend the magnitude of their work,—have been the great sources of their perplexities, waverings, defeats, and disasters. God has brought them, through calamities in a way wondrous to them, to see the character of that evil they are commissioned to overthrow, and to see duty in that which without that discipline they would have shrunk from performing. Think it not strange if they have much more of that experience which alone can make a people wise. Oh! wonderful, wonderful! has been the dealings of God with that people; wonderful his past training,—more wonderful his present discipline!

Let me, then, call your minds to the consideration of these great facts:—

1. A proper comprehension of the character of the people, upon both sides,—indicated in the source from which they sprung. We speak of the boy, who is emphatically the child of his father, as the “chip of the old block.” If you think of the Americans, particularly those of the North, as cut from the old English block, knowing what Englishmen would do, under like circumstances, you have a very safe clue to what Americans will do and are doing, for the preservation of their government. Your own history furnishes evidence enough of what is the meaning of that commotion in my country, which the honest Frenchman, a few months ago, called the “uprising ‘of a great people.’”

2. A clear perception of the motive and impulse which gave that nation an independent being. Here, too, you have evidence in your own consciousness—for what is precious to you, and gives you national life, is also like precious to them, and is the secret source of their life. It was English liberty, which you have nursed and matured at home, which was transplanted and nursed to maturity on new soil, which gave existence to the United States. Therefore, it was created to institute a liberty-preserving government in the New World. You recollect the concentrated idea, as expressed in their Declaration of Independence—“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” The event which brought out this sentence, hailed as a political evangelism by reformers and liberal men of all nations, was the announcement that the colonies of North America were separated from the mother country, Great

Britain, and were to take their place as an independent nation, among the family of nations,—which took place on the Fourth day of July, 1776.

3. It is a fashion of the times with some, especially with the slave-holders and their sympathizers, to charge Jefferson, the author of that Declaration, and the great George Washington, the Father of his Country, and his compatriots, who supported that Declaration, *with being hypocrites and dishonest men*, in putting forth that sentiment; for, say they, the authors of the Declaration of Independence did not mean what they said;—did not mean it to apply to negroes or slavery. I take it upon myself to affirm that the fathers of the Republic were honest men, for they meant what they said; *they meant that their liberty should extend to the emancipation of the slaves*. I could quote many authorities to the proof for which time would fail me. I shall make but two or three. In the first session of the Continental Congress in 1774, two years before this Declaration was put forth, an address was received from the State of Virginia, which the Congress adopted, in which it was stated that, “*The abolition of domestic slavery is the greatest object of desire in the colonies, when it was unhappily introduced in their infant state.*” Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Hancock, the Adamses, and every patriot of the revolution, with hardly a single exception, from the most Southern states, as well as the Northern, *were Abolitionists, according to the fashion of the times*. Their Abolitionism is now being approved by the good sense of all the world, as having been of a sound and wholesome type. Virginia, of those days, seemed to have been the hot-bed of Abolitionism, as it meant then,—the duty of emancipating the slaves. A Mr. Leigh, formerly a United States’ Senator for Virginia, in a letter to the people of his state, on this subject, in 1832, says:—“I thought, till lately, that it was known to every body that, during the Revolution, and for many years after the abolition of slavery was a favorite topic with many of our oldest statesmen (meaning those of the South), who entertained with respect, all the schemes which wisdom or ingenuity could suggest, for accomplishing the object. Mr. Wythe, to the day of his death, was for simple abolition, considering the objection to color as founded in prejudice. By degrees all [abolition] projects were abandoned. Mr. Jefferson retained his opinions,” &c. This is the declaration of a Virginian in 1832, and is simply justice to the memory of the fathers, and to the honesty of the times. And but three years ago, Alexander H. Stephens, the present Vice-President of the would-be Southern Confederacy, said—“The leading public men of the South, in our early history, were almost all against it [slavery]; Jefferson was against it; Madison was against it; nearly all of them were

"against it. This I freely admit, when the authority of their names "is cited." And again, in a later speech at Savannah, Georgia, in one of the now so-called Confederate States, made after he had been elevated to that office of would-be dignity, he said—"The prevailing "ideas entertained by him (Mr. Jefferson) and most of the leading "statesmen at the time of the formation of the old constitution, "were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the "laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, "and politically. Their ideas, however, were funda- "mentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality "of races." Such are Mr. Stephens' admissions. I wish I could say he was as honest and truthful in all things as in his statement of the principles of the Fathers of the Republic. He was right in saying that the ideas of these men were—"that the enslavement of "the African was in violation of the laws of nature," and that they were "all opposed to slavery." But *he* was *wrong* in his assertion that *they* "were fundamentally wrong." It was never right, never will be right, for any man to enslave any other man,—black or white—and slavery always was and always will be wrong; and it is not in the power of any new-light confederacies, based upon slavery, to make it right. Would that that which Mr. Leigh said, a generation ago, namely, that every body knew that the abolition of slavery was a principle of the American Revolution,—was so understood by every body now; Yankees and Englishmen not excepted.

4. A fourth great fact is, that the same principle was extended into their government, when, twelve years later, they re-organized it, and adopted their present Constitution—the one against which the slaveholders have risen in rebellion—in these words: "We, *the people* [not the States, mind you,] of the United States, in order "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic "tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general "welfare, and *secure the blessings of liberty* to ourselves and our pos- "terity, do ordain and establish the Constitution of the United States "of America."

5. The abolition of the slave-trade, before it was done by Great Britain; the abolition of slavery in six of these same original states, (which are now a part of the free states of the North, engaged in suppressing the rebellion of the slave states,) a generation before England abolished her slavery in the West Indies,—under a line of policy thus initiated, and under which it was expected and informally pledged, that slavery should be exterminated in all the states—are evidence conclusive that the heart of that nation, in its better days, was right. Thank God for that!

6. It should not be forgotten that good in every form, is, by human

depravity, made subject to degeneracy ; that the Devil in his connection with human institutions, is a mystery also, and somewhat of a marvel. Every good thing yet, even the soul of man, has been marred or destroyed by his pestiferous touch. Apostacy is no new thing under the sun. The history of the church everywhere shows this. The greater the good, the greater will be the effort of Satan to destroy or pervert it. If the world has been slow to understand that the government of the United States was a great good, and its doctrine of liberty, underlying it, also a great good—the Devil has not been slow to learn that fact, as is proved by his anxiety to destroy it. Let the world learn wisdom, even from the spirit of evil, if it will not take wisdom from the many better sources,—learning it by contraries—even as we are forced to profit by lessons of affliction. It is not, then, an illogical inference, that what there was of good in the conception of this government had its danger ;—if it was a great good, in proportion would its danger be great. That danger would lie mainly in apostacy from its vital truth—as the Church's greatest danger is in apostacy ; not so much from manner in its organization, as from the spirit of Christ, which is its life. I have been told by missionary friends in the Oriental countries, that there are ancient churches there, which have maintained their organization complete, and are the repositories of the original Gospels in manuscripts, who have great reverence for St. Mark—that have as little knowledge of Christ in the spirit, as the followers of the False Prophet, by whom they are surrounded. The Devil will not controvert their allegiance to St. Mark ; it is his design to allure them from their attachment to Christ, for therein would their apostacy be complete. In like manner, the Spirit of tyranny will not make up an issue on the forms of Republicanism in the New World ; if he can seduce the people from the love of liberty, or from a sacred regard for it, he will have accomplished his purpose of subverting the Republic, long before they give up attachment for its forms. Jefferson understood the philosophy of political apostacy, and seemed to have an intuition of its approach, when in the voice of warning, he said,—“That eternal vigilance was the price of liberty,” and that “a nation might lose its liberties in a single day, and not miss them for half a century.” And on another occasion he inquires, in view of the dangers of the country from slavery :—“Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis,—a conviction ‘in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God.’” Did ever man set up a higher claim for the recognition and the preservation of the rights of man, than Jefferson has here done ?—namely, that they are the “gift of God ?” William Pinkney, another one whom we might call a prophet of liberty, said in a speech in the

Maryland legislature, (a slave state,) in 1789,—“To me, nothing for “which I have not the evidence of my senses is more clear, than “that *slavery will one day destroy that reverence for liberty, which is “the vital principle of a Republic.*” Such has already been the condition of the United States. The people have forgotten that their liberties were the gift of God, they have allowed slavery to root out that reverence for liberty, which is the vital principle of their Republic. A quarter of a century have they wandered away from the truth, in the dark and dangerous paths of apostacy. It is the shock of battle to-day, that arouses them to tell what they have lost, —how far they have wandered, in that quarter of a century. Let us then remember that the sixth great fact is, political apostacy of the nation from its life-principle—liberty.

7. This degeneracy is made more distinct, and its calamities more sensibly realised, through a combination of its adverse political elements, composed of the slaveholders, and called the Slave Power, which, like a wheel in a wheel, was a power to govern the government. This is a class and a power which never has before been known in the world, which never could have existed, except under a like conjunction of circumstances, of slaveholders in a Republic, where the creation of the power rests with the people, and they an intriguing and conspiring part of that creating power. The seventh great fact must stand out as a key to the difficulty in the American Republic—the existence of the combination, or organized Oligarchy, called the SLAVE POWER. It is represented in the number of slaveholders, 400,000 in a population of 12,000,000 ;—of these 4,000,000 are slaves ; the balance, 7,600,000 non-slaveholders ; these the population of fifteen slave states. If we suppose the slaveholders to stand to the women and children and those of the family not owners, but interested in the system, as the voters do to the same classes, that is, one to six, we should have a population of two and a half millions in all the slave states, who are directly interested in the support of that system. Thus we have as a sum total of the population of the slave states, 4,000,000 slaves ; 2,500,000 slaveholders and those connected with slaveowners, and 5,500,000 non-slaveholders, or a class, besides the slaves, whose real interest would be to destroy slavery, and with it this political combination called the Slave Power.

These four hundred thousand slaveholders have monopolized nearly all the stations of power and profit in the slave states, and of influence in the national government. To be a slaveholder has been recognised as a test of qualification for office. They have filled largely the positions near foreign governments, as ministers and *attachés*, so that thus our nation has been made to reflect slaveholding ideas all over the civilized world, much to our disgrace, and unjustly so to the

mass of the people. Thus has this combination been enabled to give laws to the nation. They have been for the last thirty years the governors of the government. The combination against them, to preserve the government in its original integrity, finally triumphed in the election in 1860, making Mr. Lincoln the Constitutional President. Their power forever broken, they have attempted to destroy the Union by rebellion.

So great an influence has this power had in controlling the destinies of the country, that it is important that it should have in this connection, a complete portrait of its character and features.

The first noticeable fact, showing the working of the iniquity, the beginning of the decline, was the strange introduction of cotton into the United States, not natural to its soil—a beautiful symbol itself of civilization—which the slaveholders have crowned “king,” and have made subservient to their god—slavery. It came as a timely aid to Satan, in his scheme to destroy that fair heritage of freedom. In like manner he made use of another beautiful symbol of nature, the fruit of the garden, to destroy the fair heritage of holiness in Eden. He is not beneath using any instrumentality within his reach, however, beautiful and pure; the more so, the better for his diabolical purposes. In the year 1790, three years only after the Constitution of the country was ordained, the first bale of cotton was transported to England. It proved a commercial prosperity. It helped to change the ideas of men whose morals are measured by profit in the pocket. Then slavery became the badge of a favored class. To say this class were leaders of men, or rulers of men, or teachers of men, would not give them any particular significance as a power. To give them more noble titles, like that given to the lovers of men, or in imitation of one greater—the Saviour of men—they would all be inadequate to raise them much above the level of their fellow-men in dignity and importance; but to say of this class that they are the “**OWNERS OF MEN**,” as slaveholders are, then is arrogated to them the highest of human distinction. Therefore in the reign of apostacy the slaveholder became a sort of Republican aristocracy. As Mr. Calhoun said,—“In a democracy it was a substitution for an order of nobility.” In your country you are not without the knowledge of the power of caste in society;—the influence of an order of nobility you understand. If rightly directed it may not be without its good; but if wholly misdirected, bent on ends of evil, and that continually, what a curse it may become! Think of the nobility of this land being rivalled by the aristocracy of the Legrees of the plantation!—The lords of the realm by the cotton lords!

An oligarchy, which we called the Slave Power, thus became a fixed and tangible fact in the government of the United States. It

is a long story, it would be burdensome, if not tedious in one lecture, to trace the ramifications of that power through all the channels of government, through the avenues of trade, through the courtesies and interstices of social life, through the moral sentiments and the educational ideas of the nation, poisoning the religion of the land, while subverting its liberties.

I will give you but a few, from the thousands I might make, of the quotations, to mark the progress of, and degree of that apostacy. In the debate in Congress, on the annexation of Texas,—an act designed to perpetuate this Slave Power in the land—which was led off in opposition to the measure by JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, father of the present American Minister at London, whom we loved to call the “old man eloquent;” Mr. Campbell, a member from South Carolina, said in reply, “as the result of the discussion of the subject of slavery at “the South, it had led to a more general inquiry, which had produced “the almost universal conviction at the South, that slavery as it “existed there, was neither a moral nor a political evil.” John C. Calhoun, a South Carolinian, the great apostle of slavery, and the father of Secession, ever proclaimed slavery as a political good. It was his complaint against the Abolitionists and their affiliation with the same class in Great Britain, that they were endeavoring to destroy the moral standing of the slaveholders throughout the civilized world, by representing slavery to be a crime against humanity. George M'Duffie, once a governor of the same state, declared “slavery “to be the corner stone of the Republic.” A convention of the people of South Carolina, held in 1835, declared by resolution, that, unless the Northern States “suppressed, by *efficient penal laws*, the “abolition societies, it would become the solemn duty of the whole “South to withdraw from the Union.” Thus, nearly a generation ago, was the determination for this rebellion by the slaveholders openly expressed; and the reason why it should be precipitated upon the nation also as clearly set forth.

The character of this Slave Power, thus early threatening the Union, should be still more emphasized. In this country you hardly understand a power in the land, separate and apart from the government, stronger than even the government itself. We sometimes hear of a power behind the throne, stronger than the throne itself. But that power is a sort of myth that passes away with the changing fickleness of the occupant of the throne. The power of the State Church is felt by the Dissenters as a power moving government; but that is a power because it is a part of the government. If the Popish power, outside of the government, and not of it, should now, or if it did in any of your past history, exercise such control over king, parliament, and the judge's bench, as to make each and every one do

absolutely the Pope's will in England, then you would have acted but here something like a parallel of the domination of the Slave Power in the United States.

But the rise of the great Republic, so different from anything else known in the world's history, has brought with it a peculiar class of temptations, evils and trials, for which the past furnishes no parallel. One reason why Englishmen make some mistakes—and they do some—in regard to conclusions from events on the other side of the water is, that they have no parallel premises from which to derive their inferences. This Slave Power is one without a parallel. This peculiar danger of a Republic seems to have no actual key to interpret it in any past history of Republics. It evolves a problem which we alone must work out for the future good of mankind. England has worked out many noble problems of humanity for the world's good. Give us the privilege, with the consciousness of your heartfelt sympathies, to work out something for the world's good, which your circumstances will never permit you to eliminate.

This Slave Power attempted to become, and did become, the governor of the government. The nation was divided into parties—the slaveholders so nominally—but the Slave Power was always a unity. Whichever party came into power, the slaveholders came in with it. It adjusted itself with wonderful adroitness, from the back of the retiring party, to the neck of the in-coming one. It would ride the government as the Old Man of the Mountain rode the back of Sinbad the Sailor. When the Republican party came into power, that was an exception for the first time. From the back of Buchanan Democracy, it was thrown prostrate to the earth,—and it rose up in rebellion. Could it have ridden Mr. Lincoln, as it had ridden Pierce, Filmore, and Buchanan,—you would have had no loss of cotton, nor we the sad reality of the most formidable rebellion the world has ever known.

The philosophy of this power in government was somewhat early foreshadowed, in the debate on the Missouri question, in 1820, by John Randolph, of Virginia. He said,—“ We do not govern you “ [meaning the people of the free states] by our *black* slaves, but by “ your own *white* slaves.* We know what we are doing. We of the “ South are always united, from the Ohio to Florida; and we can “ always unite; but you of the North are beginning to divide. We “ have conquered you once, and we can and will conquer you again. “ Aye, Sir, we will drive you to the wall, and when we have you “ there once more, we mean to keep you there, and nail you down “ like base money.” This was the language of a domineering slave-

* The free laborers of the North were called white slaves, as English laborers by the slaveholders are called English slaves.

defining the line of policy that power meant to pursue, as early as 1820. Their black slaves gave them a bond of union, common to themselves, and in which no outsider could intermeddle, only to serve them as tools. Therefore they could ever use the politician of the North *as tools*, and when no longer fit for their service, ruin them as they did both the great Daniel Webster, and the little Stephen A. Douglas. Union of the States, with them, was of no value; unless they could make it subserve the end of perpetuating slavery. Said Dr. Baily, the great Anti-Slavery editor, who conducted the *National Era*, the newspaper that first published and brought to light "Uncle Tom's Cabin," in a lecture in 1846,—"The men who are most active "in their schemes of slavery extension *do not intend that the Union shall endure.*"

The North was divided in sentiment as to the policy of administering government; upon principle they were already agreed,—on the original foundation of the Republic, before set forth. They were seeking for the best plan on which to work the organization, that their institution might endure for ever. They divided on the matter of tariff, free-trade, banking, internal improvements, &c., as non-essential measures; but were as firmly fixed upon their constitution, union, and bill of rights, as the English nation is upon their constitutional form of government. The South took up another vital principle—slavery,—the antagonism of the other—liberty. They cared not for union, except to use it for the support of their oligarchy, or slave-aristocracy. The constitution was nothing to them, only as they interpreted it as a guarantee of slavery. To them it was like the bond to Shylock, giving them the pound of flesh, as they interpreted it,—and the pound of flesh they would have, because it was "ominated in the bond." They were never sticklers for the constitution on any other ground; and even violated it in times innumerable, in their intercourse with the North. They would play fast and loose upon it, in their party policy, to perplex the councils of the North, and to divide, that they might conquer. They would never stand by a fixed line of policy, only when that policy was to make the idea of slavery supreme. Their aim was subversion of the original object of the Republic. Thus, to you Englishmen, have the politics of the United States been made to appear a strange medley of incongruities, as they really were, when made to feel the vibrations of slaveholding intrigue. No great event is there in the history of the United States, from the first dawn of their independence, but what had some relation, more or less intimate, with this ever-disturbing cause, either for or against it, in its incubation to its culmination in the present civil war.

I have been somewhat lengthy in my exposition of the Slave Power, because it is a power of the land, which foreigners seem to

have no adequate idea of, even if they realize it at all. And further, it is power which the politicians of the North, and those of the people whom they could blindly lead, are continually ignoring; and the nation, so to speak, has been blind-led by it; and they are only learning in the fierce conflict of battle, what all peaceful admonitions, and the teaching of unappreciated, unheeded wise men and reformers failed to learn them.

8. Under this head I am admonished that it is time to call your attention to the antidote to this bane of apostacy. This is found in the sentiment, the informal and organized system of regeneration or preservation, called latterly *the Anti-Slavery Reform*. I have shown that Anti-Slavery was the principle of the Independence, and this reform is identical with, a lineal succession from, the better days of the Republic. Its weakness, a few years back, when it was almost at the mercy of the mob in the North, and smothered up, like fire in the earth, or driven by violence from the entire South; shows how deep in apostacy the nation had fallen. That Reform has been in sympathy with the enlightened conscience and moral expression of England, on the progress of human liberty, on the elevation of the masses, on the abolition of the Slave-trade, and the emancipation of the slave, *from your own noble Burke, in the time of our Revolution*, and with Clarkson and Wilberforce, and Sturge of later times; and may I say with the Gurneys, Charletons, and Cossahams of to-day? Oh! it is a glorious history, thrilling and deeply instructive,—well worth your earnest and prayerful attention, when you have time to compass it,—this history of the struggle of the noble few to bring back the wandering nation to its truth! It was the gradual awakening of the moral power of the nation, the revival of its ancient love of liberty, from the long, almost idiotic slumber of the people,—the re-kindling of the fires of liberty and Republicanism, bright in the days of Washington, the Father of his country,—growing pale and sickly under the baleful sway of a Calhoun, and the imbecility of a Buchanan,—flashing up again, in pristine glory, under Lincoln, the called-of-God, to be the Saviour of his country,—a position more important, and a title more honorable, than that of Father of his country.

Further, under this head, I have only to remark, that like the leaven in the gospel for the world's regeneration, there has been from the time when the conscience of the nation was aroused, as from a sound sleep, and startled to the consciousness of its deep degeneracy, a saving power at work, a reform progressing, as sublime and as self-sacrificing as the world has ever known. This reform in the expression of the will of the majority, for the first time triumphed, when the Anti-slavery Republican party succeeded, and Abraham Lincoln was constitutionally chosen President. There is yet to arise

a man, greater than a Gibbon or a Macaulay, who will do justice to this age of my country, in writing the history of this civil revolution, indicating the decline and restoration of liberty in the land.

9. The character of that act, of subverting liberty and destroying the Union, should be properly estimated and remembered. It should everywhere be understood that the destruction of a good government, especially with no just cause of complaint against it for its oppression of any class, is the highest of crimes ; it is not simply the murder of the individual, *it is the murder of the nation.* From this act of the American rebels, alone, if we could even forget the motive, namely, the perpetuation, we might say the immortality, of slavery !—judge the character of these men, engaged as the leaders of the conspiracy. Their character has been well drawn by Mrs. STOWE, in “Uncle Tom,” and it is supposed to be well understood as *slaveholders*, but add to that, treason and rebellion, and you have their characters complete. JEFFERSON, himself a slaveholder at the time, thus drew the character of these men :—“The whole commerce between master and “slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions ; the “most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading sub-“mission on the other. The parent storms, the child looks “on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the “circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus “nursed, educated, and exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped “by it with its odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy “who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such cir-“stances.” CHARLES SUMNER, in a noble speech delivered in the Senate, on the barbarism of slavery, thus pictured it—and it was left for a slaveholder to prove the same speech too true, when he smote its author down with his bludgeon, in the Senate chamber. Again I refer to the picture of slavery and the character of the slaveholder in “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” the most truthful novel ever written—and remember that Legree is Legree still. Men like him lead the forces of the rebel army. The acts perpetrated by them upon those of the Anti-Slavery army, who fall upon their soil, would disgrace the Sepoys of India. The facts of their barbarities seldom or never get into your English newspapers. Americans are well-posted in regard to the sufferings of your citizens in India in the time of the mutiny, but you little know the barbarities of Bull Run, and the bloody fields of the Valley of the Mississippi, in which my friends have bled and fallen. Their lives were given, not for the *bubble of an empire*, but for a government worth to them all that life was worth.

And what is the atrocity of that act of rebellion, and what fate do its authors merit ? Let the authority of WASHINGTON,—good authority here and elsewhere, settle that point. Said he, in an address to

the Governors of the states, after the first Constitution was adopted, in 1783,—“Liberty is the basis [of the government], and whosoever “would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under “whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitter-“est execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted “by his injured country.” This is the sentence of George Washington, the first President of the United States, upon Jefferson Davis, the first President of a rebel government, called a Southern Confederacy, and all his compeers.

10. It is disputed that these men are in rebellion on account of slavery. Where is the evidence? it is said. The North, it is affirmed, is not fighting to abolish slavery. If it is an Anti-Slavery war, why is it that the slaves are not at once declared free? The answer to all this is given in the fact of a peculiar difference in the idea of exercising power, between a monarchical form of government, and a Republic of Independent States. It is in a nutshell—the States and the Union, in the sublime comparison of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, are “*One like the ocean, divided like its billows.*”—As independent waves ride the *States*, on the bosom of the one ocean. The unity of the nation, and the independence of each state, is a seeming paradox—sometimes perplexing; and so is the unity of the God-head and the Trinity of the Person difficult to be understood. Yet we, who have thought most upon the subject, are least disposed to doubt its truth. It has always been a fundamental principle with the Anti-Slavery men of the United States, not to recognise Slavery in any sense whatever, as a national matter. The slaveholders are the men who are determined that Slavery shall be an institution of the nation. That they could not make it so, was a prime cause of the rebellion. Shall we now stultify ourselves, by attempting to destroy Slavery as a national institution, when we have always proclaimed that it was not so? It is very clear that Slavery has set a limit to its own being, by going into the rebellion. If it dies not actually, as it does logically, and it be necessary for the government to preserve itself to declare a general act of emancipation, under the exercise of the war power, *it will be done.* The new Anti-Slave-Trade Treaty; the execution of the slavetrader Gordon; the abolition of Slavery in the district of Columbia; the offer of the nation to buy out all the slaves of the states who voluntarily go into a plan of emancipation; the proposed act of abolishing and prohibiting Slavery in the national domain:—these are evidences enough that all things are working

* This act has since passed, and having been approved by President Lincoln, is now the law of the United States. It is in these words:—“To the end that **FREEDOM** may “be and remain for ever the *fundamental law of the land*, in all places whatsoever, so far “as it lies within the power or depends upon the action of the United States to make it

well. Our nation, in its emergency, is in the hands of wise rulers; the chief of whom, when he left his quiet home in Springfield, Illinois, to take the head of the government, said, as the last parting request to his old familiar neighbours and friends,—“ I go to assume the duties “ of administering the government under responsibilities second only “ to those of Washington. Pray to God to give me Divine wisdom to “ guide me in a faithful discharge of these duties.” Never was there a man who assumed the reins of government for whom more prayers have ascended, or more sincere ones, than have gone up from that wide vintage of Puritanism in the New World, and yet continue to be made, by men who “ prevail with God.” Think you, praying men and women of Arley, of all England, that the request of a ruler for prayers, so sincerely made and offered, will not be answered? If God guides the helm of state, through the hands of Abraham Lincoln, be certain that when the best time comes for the end of Slavery, its end will come.

But where is the evidence of the truth that the Southern Confederacy mean any more Slavery than if they had remained in the old government? Their own words shall answer you, besides what should be inferred from the facts I have stated. I have before quoted the language of A. H. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, to show that the fathers of the Republic opposed Slavery. After that government was formed, of which he was made second in authority, in the same speech at Savannah, Georgia, which I have before quoted, continuing his reference to the same admission, he says—“ Our new government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas;” [mark it, exactly the opposite, i.e., exactly the opposite of Liberty is Slavery]; “ its foundations are laid, its corner stone rests upon the great truth that the *nigro is not equal to the white man*; that Slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his *natural and moral condition*. ” [Received with applause by his audience.] “ This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.” Continuing the elucidation of this *truth!* for a space, he says, “ Our Confederacy is founded upon principles in strict conformity with these laws;”—impiously and blasphemously quoting the personality

“so, therefore, *Be it enacted, etc.* That from and after the passage of this act, there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the territories of the United States, now existing, or which may at any time hereafter be formed or acquired by the United States, otherwise than in punishment of crime, whereof the party have been duly convicted.” Thus, under the administration of the Republican Party, the United States, within the past year, to the extent of their power as a nation, by this act, and the act of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, have purged themselves of the crime and contempt of being a slaveholding nation. That charge can no longer be honestly brought against that nation.

of Christ, in the plan of salvation, he vehemently throws himself into this climax,—“ *This stone which was rejected by the first builders,*” (the old government) “ *is become the chief stone of the corner in our NEW EDIFICE.*”* Mark this ye civilized Europe, and ye Christian philanthropists. Surely a new light is come into the world, a light which turneth all previous light into darkness !

Need we any further proof of what the Southern Confederacy means ! I have, step by step, attempted to show you the signs of its promised coming, in events and in doctrines, which cast their lurid shadows before ;—this last is the climax of the evidence—proof from their own lips. In the days of the contests of Anti-Slavery in the North with the mob-power of Slavery, which at that time extended into every state, a good man, never before interested, stood and looked on when a mob of those they contemptuously and too truly styled the white slaves, attempted to do the bidding of their lordly masters, in breaking up a meeting of praying women and silent, loving Quakers. “ I saw at once,” said he, “ on which side the Devil was, and I joined the side against him. I meant never to be on ‘ any side with him.’ ” No man, in money or in influence, did more afterward for the Anti-Slavery cause, than he who thus deliberately chose against the side which by its acts proved where the sympathy of the evil spirit was.† Can we not as clearly see, from their spirit of barbarism, their antecedents, and the words of their own mouths, on which side of the rebellion the Devil has allied himself ? Men may find a simple rule to guide them to the right always—by choosing against the side on which the Devil is known to be.

Therefore, the men who are engaged in the rebellion, must be fighting in a bad cause, in waging war for Slavery, as they unquestionably do, if they can be believed in their own declarations. That they fight desperately is not strange. The men who fight for their all, even in a bad cause,—their property, their life, and their pride—will fight desperately. And when we know how much of pride there is in the slaveholding character, and how much that pride over-rules everything else, we are not surprised that they do contend desperately, and that for a time they seem to contest their cause too successfully. Intelligent Americans are not disappointed in this regard. But is

* The report in the public print, giving this speech, modestly says of this announcement—“ Received with applause.” So the announcement of these so-called truths, at every step, was reported as received with like applause. These are the unquestioned sentiments of the leaders of the rebellion. They have expressed them among themselves for their own comfort and edification ; but have disguised them to the ear of England, as it was a part of their purpose to involve this nation in the war, for the purpose of making sure their attempt to destroy the Union of liberty under the old government, for Slavery under their new one.

† Gerrit Smith, and the Pro-Slavery mob at Utica, New York, in 1836.

that any reason, because of their earnestness and their desperation, that the wicked should be left to triumph? Verily, they do flourish like the green bay tree, but the end thereof we know. We know, too, as a great truth of human experience, that although the Devil's cause seems to flourish in the world, and the process of his overthrow is a tedious one, yet we know this truth for our encouragement—that the Devil's cause, though it seems to flourish, is never *really prosperous*. Here is a distinction which the Christian who has to learn "to labor and to wait," should remember, and appropriate to his comfort.

But it is a combination of these 400,000 men which is to be conquered, something like the combination would be of all those in this country, which you call aristocracy, if they had combined, not only to rob you of your rights, but of your good government also. Think you, in such a case, that England's gentry, with England's yeomanry, would not make as desperate a stand against rebellion as is done in the United States? That the slaveholders are able to hold the mass of the people, is another of the mysteries "hard to be understood" by those not familiar with American slaveholding society. It is a mystery that they have been enabled so long to control the politics of the whole nation. But men who have learned to hold 4,000,000 as abject slaves, must also have learned the art of controlling white men who are on a level little above the black serviles,—who are always found ground as between the upper and nether mill-stone, between the lordly master and the obsequious slave. A reign of terror has existed for the last thirty years in the South. It exists there at this time as intense as it existed in France in the days of the Infidel Revolution. Was there not much mystery in that singular history, which has since in a measure been solved? It should be remembered that the Unionists fight not really against the whole South, but against the Slave-Power, with which we have had to contend, at the ballot-box, since 1840; and when we had fairly vanquished them there they appealed to the sword. Men of other lands should remember—and it is very rarely thought of—that we owe as much to the 7,500,000 non-slaveholders, ignorant and degraded men, thousands of them, now held by the "reign of terror" in the Confederate army—partly there by fear of the power around them, fear of the penalty of rebellion,—to restore the government and emancipate these, as we owe to the slaves. Like that ignorance which led the populace of France to cheer on a Robespierre in his bloody track, and the next day to gloat in exultations over his overthrow; these men are led by a strong delusion, which will sometime be dispelled by the force of Northern arms.

But you say (as it is the universal cry) you never can conquer the

rebels. Perhaps we cannot. But will it be a sad thing for the world if such a cause is allowed to triumph. Sad will it be for the peoples of Europe if their hope of liberty in the New World should thus perish. *Should such a cause triumph?* The honest answer to this, should settle the question whether it will. If triumphant, it will, I confess it, be a triumph over the power of the North; and worse still, over its principles, its philanthropy, its morals, and its religion—a triumph over the Puritan principles and the religion of the Dissenters planted there, and over the success of which in your country, in one form, you are this year holding a jubilee of rejoicing. Civil and religious liberty have gone hand in hand there in a glorious career of progress. It was "freedom to worship God," that sent the Puritan to the wilderness, and the Quakers to the shores of the Delaware; and from these two counterparts of Christian graces, stern-justice and loving-kindness, in the Puritan and the Quaker alike, came sympathy for, and justice to, the enslaved African—then civil liberty for all in the form of government;—your ancestors securing for you the same blessings here. The triumph of the slaveholders would then be a triumph over England also. It would bring all the glory of England for her philanthropy in the cause of the slave and against the slave-trade—as they designed to do—into folly and contempt. O! that the moralists of this country to-day knew how these slaveholders hated England for her act of emancipation in the West India Islands! It will, then, in an emphatic sense, be England's defeat, as well as ours;—and for the first time will it be, that she has been defeated. Is it to be that England's glory and her goodness shall be made to trail in the dust by the triumph of the slaveholders of the United States?

If, then, in contemplation of the American Crisis, we have in view—First, the fact that England is re-produced in the people who founded the government of the United States; Second, that liberty was the object of that government, and that American liberty means the same thing for the New World, that English liberty means for the Old World; Third, that it was the purpose of the founders of that government that Slavery should be abolished by the individual states separately; Fourth, that the constitution extended the same idea; Fifth, that the slave-trade was abolished, and Slavery also, in a number of states, in consistency with the expectation raised by the adoption of the constitution; and Sixth, that there came a re-action, after the introduction of the cultivation of cotton, which made slave-labor profitable, equivalent to an apostacy, like that which has fallen sometimes upon the Church itself, and which too often blocks the progress of every good cause; Seventh, that this reaction was followed by the

concentration of the political power of the slaveholders, only numbering now in their best strength 400,000, who seized the reins of government under the style of the Slave-Power; Eighth, that there has been a saving influence at work in the Anti-Slavery organization and in the Reform, which grew from year to year, in a wholesome growth, and finally triumphed in the success of the Republican party, which is an Anti-Slavery party, so far as a national political party can be Anti-Slavery; and in so triumphing, this Slave-Power was vanquished and destroyed as a party to control the government; Ninth, the character of the men engaged in the rebellion is consistent with the object they have in view—the destruction of a good government, not because it was oppressive, but simply because it favored liberty and was good,—that barbarism marks the character of the leaders, as Slavery is itself essentially barbarism; Tenth, that they have formally and before all the world, from the mouth of their second leader in authority, and their most eloquent orator, declared that their object was to form a Republic in opposition to the old one, based upon the “exact opposite idea,”—that of Slavery,—which should be the “*chief stone in the corner of its edifice;*” Eleventh, and lastly, as the legitimate inference from this assertion of their own—if they do not succeed in their rebellion, and establish the Confederacy as a nation of the earth, upon this idea of Slavery, which Mr. Stephens confesses “is the first attempt in the history of the world,”—then their corner stone will be rejected, cast out as unfit to go into the structure of nations, and Slavery is doomed—ever after destroyed.

With these great leading facts in the history of the United States, and culminating in the American crisis, in our minds—facts which cannot be doubted by any honest, intelligent man—we cannot go far wrong as to our conclusions. We cannot long doubt which side will in the end triumph, if we have faith in the ultimate triumph of the right, and believe that God is with those who stand up for Him. If we see that those whose duty it is now to stand up for the integrity of the Union, on that honest ground of liberty on which it was originally formed—are shirking their duties (which God forbid), then we may think He will give them over to the deceitfulness of their own heart, and to final disruption and ruin as a nation. But it does seem from the eye which God will permit us to have on His great plans of carrying on the process of the world’s redemption, that He cannot yet spare that nation from the economy of His goodness. Much more rational is it to believe that He is trying it, disciplining it, training it, through storms and tempests, to take deeper root in earth, and deeper root in heaven, for a yet greater work He has in reserve—a

work which may be far above their present comprehension. Shall we not say there is a work for England and a work for America, in conjunction, of which we of either nation, may have yet no conception? For how wide and glorious in the future is the work of humanity in raising up the masses of men in temporal welfare! and how wide and glorious the work of God and man in the world's salvation, before the mission of Christ shall have been fulfilled on the earth!

The facts I have presented are those out of which are formed the structure, which give shape and character to the interior finish, and lie at the foundation of that Leaning Tower of Slavery in the United States. Go now to your Leaning Tower in Temple Street; though it stands as if inclined to throw its massive weight in ruin upon human dwellings beneath, you examine its foundations, and ascertain its centre of gravity, and knowing that its foundation is sure, and that it has so stood for centuries, endured the pressure and the storms of time—you have faith that it will stand. That tower is as old, yea, much older than my country; when its foundations were laid the Western Continent was not known to exist. While that tower has been leaning, so slowly do events move in some quarters, so rapidly do they move in others, a New World has been making and is made. Slavery has come with the coming of the New World, since that tower has been leaning; the whole problem of Slavery, in its irruption from Africa, with the slave-trade, and its practice upon the plantation, has thus far been worked out in a space of time much shorter than the age of that tower. We have seen many of its supports, one after another go down; its main tower in the United States has, for the past generation, been reeling and rocking to and fro, like a drunken man; and to-day the shocks of its vibrations are felt throughout the civilized world. Its foundations are being undermined; in their madness, its friends have pried out the key-stone of the arch of its foundation—surely it will go down, never more to rise.